l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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hibitions regarding what must be done and not done within that territory. The regulations are different for each *desa*. There is a general prohibition against allowing lepers within the village territory except at certain impure places. Another general regulation is that the parents of undesired twins or of triplets must be banished to the graveyard for six weeks. This *manak salah*[6] and *manak juru* should then be followed by a purification ceremony. On the other hand there are highly divergent prohibitions regarding the pursuit of crafts considered to make the village territory impure, such as pottery making (which in Jasri, in Karangasĕm, may only be done on the beach and by the Pati River), blueing, making rice wine, and so forth. Then there is the prohibition of certain animals: in Jasri no goats may be bred. There are a large number of villages where opium may not be smoked; the *desa* of Pasĕdahan obtained permission from the rulers of Karangasĕm to move the opium agents to the south edge of the village on condition that if they sold opium in the village the drug would be confiscated and they would be punished by having to clean out the village ponds. Corpses must be buried or cremated within a specified time, and in certain villages those kept in the house must be taken outside the village during *desa* festivals. Carcasses of animals may not be left lying, but must be buried in a specified way. In most regions of southern Bali it is also prohibited for a peasant and his family to live for any length of time on the *sawahs*, since that would lead to the impurity of the *sawah* land. The village of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan goes furthest in this matter of prohibitions and commandments.[7] There men may only tap palm wine, and women may only make *gĕringsing* fabrics, both of which are necessary in connection with the offerings. For the rest the people must devote themselves to the service of the gods.

That service of the gods constitutes the further task of the village. The long list of anniversary offerings – *usaba, achi, yosan, wali, puja charu* – differs for practically every village in the *Bali-aga* territory, just as there are differing *desa* gods. In the apanage territory, on the other hand, the festive calendar is uniform.[8] That the requisites for these festivals are always available is the result of the notion that everything produced by the *desa* territory in the form of crops and livestock belongs to the gods ... Of these religious ceremonies, special attention may be asked for Nyĕpi,[9] the 'restriction' of the village (or in the apanage territory, of the whole area), since each year at that time the boundaries are reaffirmed by stretching lines or erecting gates over the roads at the points were they cross the village boundaries.[10]

Alongside the veneration of the gods as the overlords of the land there is also the second basic notion of maintaining contact with

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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*ngadang* or *mĕgadang*, meaning 'to guard', 'to spend the night guarding'. It is said that in earlier times, when the journey was still made on foot, people from Bratan *en route* to Pĕtĕmon and to Jĕmbrana never failed to pay homage at the sea temple and to make offerings on passing Labuhan Haji. (All but a few of the inhabitants of Bratan belong to the genealogical group of *pandes*, descendants of the traditional metalsmiths who are now scattered throughout Bali. A few decades ago a number of people from Bratan settled in newly opened territory in the west, especially in Pĕtĕmon and Jĕmbrana, and frequent contacts with the village of origin are still maintained.) It was also customary that on returning home safely to Bratan a traveller erected a *sanggah charukchuk* in his compound, and from there invoked the deity at Labuhan Haji. On this occasion interest was concentrated exclusively on Jĕro Nyoman Pĕngadangan, whose attention was attracted with the exclamation *ku-uk*. One of the offerings required for this *jĕro nyoman* was opium, together with a whole set of opium smoker's equipment. (This prescription is less expensive in its consequences than it might seem, since the opium and the accompanying utensils can be asked back after the ceremonial has been completed.)

The significance of the word *haji* in the name Labuhan Haji is not certain. It is not very probable that it actually has to do with someone who made the pilgrimage to Mecca, though there are many Moslems living in the hamlet at the present time. Possibly there is an association with the fact that on Java the realm of Majapahit was succeeded by an Islamic political order. It might also be a reference to the Balinese word *aji*, which means 'ruler' or 'father', and is frequently used in the title of address for *pĕdandas*. It may be that in this connection a tie must be sought with priestly figures such as Pĕdanda Dwijendra, who according to tradition brought the culture of Majapahit to Bali. There are a number of links between Dwijendra and western Buleleng, where the wise man lost his eldest daughter, Swabawa, at Pulaki.

In the *desa* of Bratan one of the village functionaries is called the *pasĕk haji*, without its being apparent what the actual meaning of

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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The chewing of 49
betel-nut is the first gesture of hospitality and the main social 574
pastime of the entire archipelago. To chew betel, a piece of the 276
green nut of the betel palm is dabbed with a little lime, wrapped in pepper leaves, *sirih*, and the whole chewed together with a large wad of shredded tobacco that is held under a monstrously protruding lower lip. The combination of betel, *sirih*, and lime produces an abundant flow of saliva, red as blood, and the betel addict spits constantly, leaving crimson splotches wherever he goes. After certain guests departed, our house-boy always had to wash the veranda steps because they looked as if a murder had been committed on them. Today betel-chewing is not favoured 276
by the younger generation, not only because it looks so disagree- [178]
able, but because it spoils the teeth. The older the person, the fonder he is of betel, and the ingredients are always kept on hand in boxes with little compartments or in special satchels of woven pandanus. Old men without teeth have a special bamboo tube [886]
with an iron rod to mash the various ingredients together. The [431]
*sirih*, betel, and lime are presented to guests in little ready-made packages often beautifully decorated with streamers of delicately cut-out palm-leaf. They are called *tjanang* or *baséh*, a gift.

A host must act as servant to his guests, himself attending to 574
their comfort and not partaking of the refreshments. Meals are 264
also served by the host, even if he has servants and assistants, and he can eat only after the guests have finished. If the visitors come from another village, they are expected to stay for the night and even for days at a time. The place of honour in the house is then assigned to them. After a reasonable period of time the visit is repaid and the presents reciprocated.

Very strict are the rules between men and women. On public 562
occasions men and women keep to themselves in separate groups, 576
and people from Gianyar are shocked to see the sexes mingle in Badung while watching a show. In the same manner the people of Badung are disgusted because in Tabanan men and women [515]
bathe near together. It is rude to look into a public bath and even worse to enter it unless to bathe. Then the other bathers become figuratively invisible.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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he bought fried peanuts from his favourite vendor to treat me. 858
He even offered me some of his own cigarettes; it is normal for [276]
little boys and girls to smoke and they show preference for a certain brand of tobacco perfumed with cinnamon and cloves in little cigarettes wrapped in corn husk that sell six for a penny.

A boy assists his father in the work at home and in the fields, 857
and cares for the cattle, driving the cows and buffaloes and bath- 868
ing them at sunset. He learns his father's trade, and by the time he is about eight or ten he has a good knowledge of practical matters. Besides the hybrid education that the Balinese now receive [871]
in the Dutch schools, a boy learns to read and write in Balinese characters from his father or his *gurú*; mythology, ethics, and history he learns from watching plays and puppet shows, where he can pick up literary terms and become a scholar. Little girls learn from their mothers to cook, weave, thresh rice, and make offerings. Although the higher education is rather the attribute of men, women are not barred from acquiring knowledge, and even peasant women show high spirits and a keen mentality.

## ADOLESCENCE

A boy comes of age gradually and unconsciously, but the first 881
menstruation of a girl (*nyatjal*) is an important event and when this condition arrives to the daughter of a prince, the village [864]
*kulkul* is beaten to announce that the little princess is now a woman of marriageable age. As soon as the fact is discovered, the girl is secluded in the sleeping-quarters, and the veranda is enclosed with screens of woven palm-leaf, leaving a small entrance. Men are strictly forbidden to go into the place. The girl becomes automatically *sebel*, unclean, and remains in seclusion until the menstrual period is over and until the auspicious day when she will be purified by the priest. Then a great feast is given by her family to celebrate her reappearance into the world as a mature woman.

We assisted at the purification feast of Madé Rai, one of the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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The custom of filing the teeth has a deep significance among primitive peoples, usually as a form of initiation ceremonies at puberty. Others tattoo or scar their bodies, and even Westerners, who are horrified at the absurd customs of savages, practise initiation tortures in the form of sabre duels, beatings, featherings, or simply breaking their noses at college football games.

The Balinese file their teeth when a boy or a girl comes of age; not in sharp points like some Africans, or down to the gums like the Sumatrans and other Indonesians; but they simply file off a small portion of the upper incisors and upper canines to produce an even line of short teeth, also wearing them down to smooth their outer surface. Undoubtedly the custom of filing the teeth (*mesangí, mepandés*) had its origin in initiation rites. As we have seen, the teeth are not only filed to make them beautiful, but also blackened, and it is possible that, like the custom of cutting the rice stalks at harvesting-time with a small blade carefully hidden in the palm of the hand, the filing and blackening of the teeth may in some way be connected with the fear of offending, or hurting, the rice soul. Today, as I have said, young people are giving up chewing betel-nut, and the custom of blackening the teeth is disappearing. It is mostly elderly people who display black caverns for mouths, oozing with blood-red betel juice.

The filing should be performed preferably at puberty, but the ceremony is expensive because of fees, guests, banquet, offerings and so forth, and usually only the well-to-do can afford it then. Although it is not longer regarded as essential, many people have their teeth filed later in life if they were not filed during youth. It is believed that a person may be denied entrance into the spirit world if his teeth are not filed, and often the teeth of a corpse are filed before cremation so that he will not look like a demon, a *raksasa*, the long canines of whom stick out through the cheeks like a wild boar's.

The filing takes place on an auspicious day after the person is blessed by a *pedanda*. The boy or girl may not go out of the

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7



Groups of women

*796 .794 [415] began to gather under the roofs of the other pavilions, to fashion from the sheaves of young palm leaves the many and varied containers that would be needed for the offerings. Hundreds of these are required, big ones, small ones, round, square, and triangular ones, each to be cut out, twisted into shape, and pinned together with bamboo slivers. The more dexterous of the women assumed the task of fashioning the decorative top-pieces (*sampian*) with many curls and whorls and flutings, and graceful fringes hanging all around, which would adorn the offerings.

[252] When the rice-flour was ready, colored in vivid red and green, the specialists in *peregèmbal* cakes set to work molding it into distinctive shapes: the *paksi*, a bird with knobby buttons down the front of his jacket, the *djoekoeh ngaba siboeh*, a "hermit holding a coconut full of water," the magical *waringin* tree. Other women were frying flat round cakes, and setting them to sun in the middle of the court. A special set of offerings was prepared at once to be presented in each of the ten shrines in the temple court and in the kitchen, "because the offerings were being made in the temple."

[082] This giving of offerings for making offerings may be interpreted either as a polite gesture towards the gods, a gracious way of letting them know that the temple, their house, was being used for this purpose — or as a precautionary measure, to appease their appetites so that nothing should go amiss while the big offerings were being prepared. In each shrine was set an *adjoeman* (food) and a *tjanang*[1] (betel-chewing ingredients).

Meanwhile, the men who had come to work instead of their wives sat [322] together splitting up bamboo to be used for offering frames, for skewers, needles for the pinning of the delicate palm-leaf fancy-work, or supports for the construction of special altars and stands on which the offerings would be set out.

Towards noon the hundred or so people departed, leaving the *sinoman* in charge. Again about three the *koel-koel* beat, recalling them to the temple. And the work went on, till the evening. That night a detachment of ten men was detailed to sleep in the temple, to guard it (*mekemit*).

[1] The *tjanang* is the slightest and the most frequently used offering, serving a multitude of purposes. It is a little tray made of palm-leaf, containing a flower, ingredients for betel-chewing in minuscule quantity, and a twist of palm-leaf called an "oil receptacle" (*wadah lengis*), a mere token of perfumed oil. Besides these it may contain tiny amounts or tokens of perfumed ointment and sandalwood water. Three specific types of *tjanang* may be called for:

[782] [276] [302]

1. *Tjanang yenten*, contains *porosan* (roll of betel), *boenga* (flower), *wadah lengis* (oil receptacle).
2. *Tjanang lenga wangi*, or *tjanang boeat wangi*, contains *porosan*, *boenga*, *wadah lengis*, as above, *boeh mijik* (perfumed ointment), *lengis kodjo* (other perfumed oil), *jèh tjenana* (sandalwood water).
3. *Tjanang gantal*, contains *lekesan* (roll of areca nut, betel-leaf, lime, and tobacco), *boeah 5* (areca nuts, 5), *wadah lengis*.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--651 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
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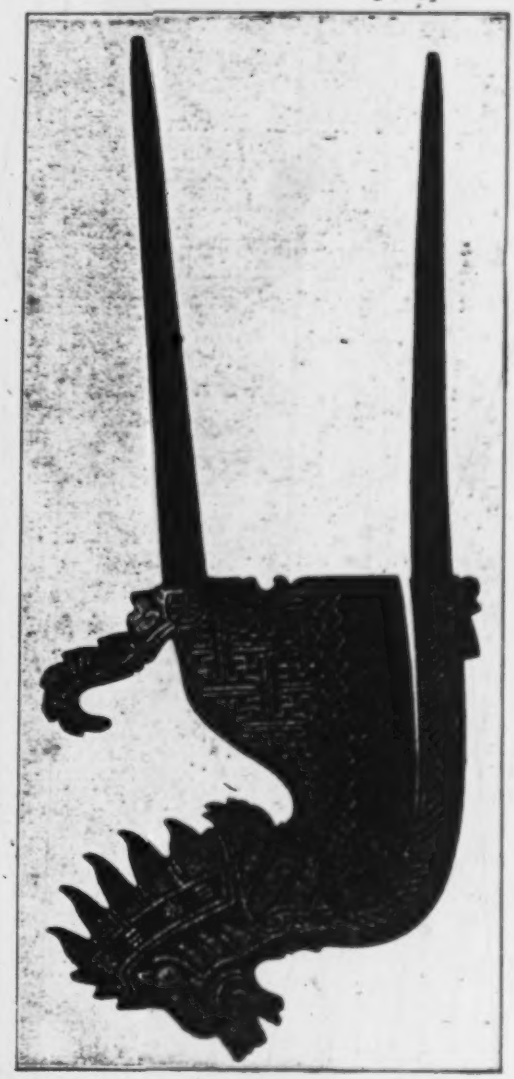
[579]



Balinese Nutcrackers for Areca, Incrusted with Silver
"Boeatan," The Hague

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276
531